

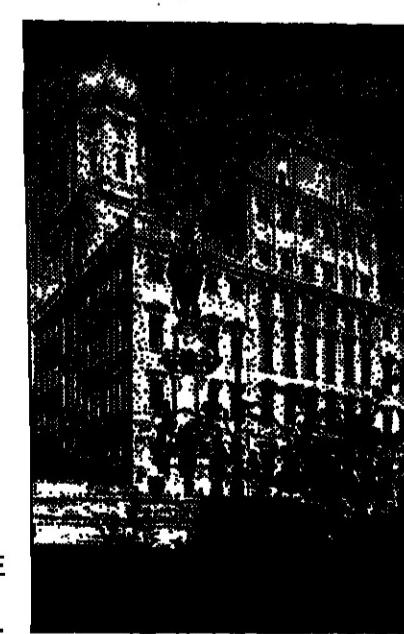
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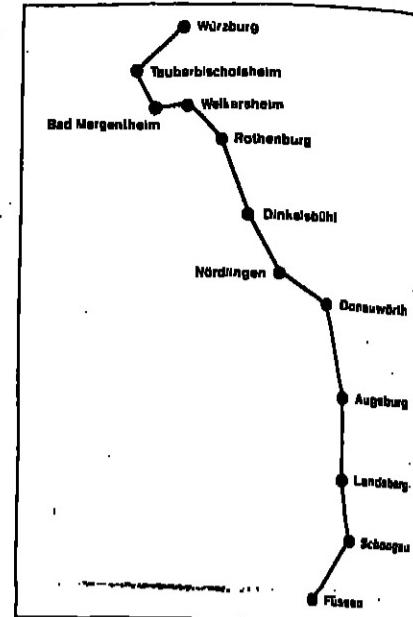
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DEPOSE A BX X

Stability the aim in Europe – but history is setting its own pace

To the great powers' uniform response to popular movements in Eastern Europe and Germany consists of visions initially intended to stem the tide of change in Europe, a process that has cast diplomatic procedures aside.

Nato Foreign Ministers, meeting in Brussels, were in no position to forecast, let alone to guarantee, that the bid would work.

No-one wants to lower "fire curtains" now the intra-German border has been thrown open and travel in both directions over Christmas and the New Year can be expected to fall little short of uncritical.

The key figure at the Brussels Nato summit was US Secretary of State James Baker.

After the "depressing" insight into his problems that Mr Gorbachov gave the US at the Malta mid-Med summit, America as the key superpower feels bound to make both its own legitimate interests and the Soviet Union's.

That is probably the most amazing repercussion of the revolution east of

DIE WELT
Weltansicht für die Zukunft

the Elbe. Stability aid is the keyword. It leads to serious and strange, not to say incredible developments.

One such development was the visit Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze paid Nato secretary-general Manfred Wörner in Brussels.

The second, equally important part US "New Europe" and "New Atlanticism" diplomacy has to play consists of a large-scale attempt to reconcile its Western allies' interests.

This is needed because the prospect of political change in Central Europe has led to irritation in connection with fundamental values such as the right of self-determination.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher preferred not to comment to correspondents on the speech to the National Assembly by his French opposite number, Roland Dumas, in which this right was made out to be subject to a plebiscite by the "other European countries."

It was, however, clear that a majority of Bonn's Nato allies were not prepared to countenance any such relativisation of political values.

America's views on self-determination are clear and positive. It is felt to be indivisible and an unconditional principle.

As a leading State Department official put it, the United States had no intention of arriving at Metternich-style "Karlsbad decisions" which would limit the Germans to a special status within

the Helsinki accords and the 1975 Final Act – as a comprehensive means of ensuring stability.

The 35 states that signed the Final Act

will, as Herr Genscher hinted during the Nato conference, have to arrive at conclusions from the process of change in Europe, maybe next year, in their capacity as guarantors of a future European security system.

They include Nato and Warsaw Pact countries, the European Community, other European countries, the two superpowers and Canada. It remains to be seen whether German interests can be satisfactorily looked after beneath this jumbo umbrella.

It may end up with a kind of Congress of Vienna passing judgment on events comparable with those of 1848.

The absolute primacy of stability, as proclaimed in Brussels, can lead to deformation of the will of the people. There is certainly a constant risk of this happening.

It is heralded by the "sovereignty" of pacts and of the European Community where processes of movement in Europe are concerned.

Creativity must be superimposed on the brakes and safeguards unless fresh inflexibility is to come in the Cold War's wake.

Nato Foreign Ministers agreed to adopt, in their communiqué, the statement on Germany adopted by European Community leaders in Strasbourg. They did so with a grain of salt.

The Strasbourg declaration began with a clear statement that "the German people are regaining its unity in free self-determination," then went on to add a plethora of conditions.

There may seem to be no chance of thinning out these conditions, so German policy must seek to accentuate German interests.

The primacy of stability is and will remain a hypothesis. It is an attempt to regulate a dynamic reality, and no more.

Living history is going its own way, with the powers following in its footsteps and not setting the pace.

Herbert Kämpf
(Die Welt, Bonn, 15 December 1989)



Kohl in Budapest

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl (right) in Budapest where he was welcomed by Hungary's Prime Minister, Miklos Németh. During his three-day visit, Kohl assured Hungary that Bonn fully supported Hungarian moves for economic reform. He said that, without the example of Hungary, developments in East Germany would not have been so "breath-taking." He thanked Budapest for its "decisive contribution" to the solution of the East German refugee problem in the summer. Kohl travels on to Dresden to meet East German Prime Minister Hans Modrow. (Photo: dpa)



Why the hurry, ohum?

(Cartoon: Böhrendt/Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)

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Few East Germans doubt that the nation's economy is in tatters, but few have clear ideas on what to do. Klaus-Peter Schmid reports for *Die Zeit*. Page 6

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GERMANY

The moment of truth is all about powers

On 10 November, after the Berlin Wall had been breached and huge crowds gathered on both sides, the phone rang in the diplomatic mission of the allied powers in West Berlin. The Soviet ambassador in East Berlin wanted to know: "How do you intend to maintain order?"

Not only the Soviets but also the Western powers are finding themselves unexpectedly confronted by the moment of truth which nobody planned and which nobody wanted to materialise that soon.

The moment of truth is nothing other than the question of power in Berlin and Germany. It openly addresses the following complex: which are the "original" rights of the superpowers with respect to "Germany as a whole", their military presence and their asserted sovereignty over Berlin?

The respective mayors of West Berlin and East Berlin, Momper and Krack, bypassed the allies to discuss water, effluent, traffic and smog problems. Bonn did not even bother to consult the USA as a matter of form before establishing regular flights between Frankfurt and Leipzig (and not at all in the case of Helmut Kohl's ten-point plan). Surely this means that the original rights of the allies only exist on paper and that their military units stand around like cardboard cut-outs?

Was this question, not Ronald Reagan's 1987 Berlin initiative on the extension of the city as a centre of air routes and conference capital, which motivated the surprise Soviet initiative. It also explains why the western allies agreed so readily.

The small four-power conference is a signal to the Germans: we are still there and not quite so fast please.

Or as US Secretary of State Baker put it: reunification must take place gradually and must be "part of a step-by-step process" to ensure that it develops "by peaceful means." Yet can the four powers again conduct quadripartite negotiations on "Germany as a whole" — as they did for the last time in Geneva in May 1959?

Apparently not, since they have in the meantime been overtaken by two realities.

One of them existed between the mid-1950s and 9 November 1989.

The two Germanies have ceased to be an object of negotiation; they assumed the role of the main strategic partners of their respective hegemonic powers.

Konrad Adenauer's spectre called Potsdam (a German solution "at our expense") was buried by 1955 at the latest through the attainment of sovereignty and accession to Nato, since no-one wanted to place "their" Germany at anybody else's disposal.

A second reality was added on 9 November this year. The four powers are no longer able to work on the basis of Germany's disposability, since events are simply running away from them.

The power of tanks and paragraphs can at most be turned into political influence in the relationship between East German marks and D-marks: at a huge loss.

Or can they? The Russians, for example, could only wield their power if they give the order to shoot, which all their well-understood interests prevent them from doing. And what about the western powers? Their power in Berlin is not so much based on paper as on the "consent of the ruled", as laid down in the American Declaration of Independence.

Their power emanates from their role as "protecting powers", and the latter was depreciated to the extent to which the Soviet field of force around Berlin has disintegrated.

This is a coolly calculated assessment; it is not exactly, however, the ideal solution.

The Federal Republic of Germany is embedded in a network of interests and commitments, which bind it to the West — from Brussels-Nato to Brussels-European Community. It has benefited enormously from this position. Not even handing it the Bismarck Reich on a silver plate would justify its jeopardisation.

The "link to Saint Petersburg", which Bismarck said should never be severed, is also quite strained at present, as shown by the increasingly strongly worded anti-reunification protests by Moscow.

Any well-understood German policy, therefore, must view the signal of the four powers in Berlin with the necessary level-headedness.

Allies are there to be consulted; enemies have a right to be respected.

On no account should Bonn government or — following its formation — an East Berlin government run the risk of living in a state of tension with all four powers. The Germans have never got on well living in defiance in central Europe.

Like every mood of elation the national euphoria which existed on 9 November will be replaced by harsh realities.

Although the solution of the German Question no longer lies in the hands of the allies this does not mean that it is now entirely in German hands.

President Mitterrand defines his country's *raison d'état* as follows: France supports the right of self-determination of the Germans, but not now.

He stresses that the victorious powers now have a responsibility to retain the security structures in Europe, not to raise "the question of borders." This is also a reference to the borders between the two Germanies. During his visit to Kiev Mitterrand advised West Germans that they should concentrate on strengthening the European Community "and avoid interference in the East."

Josef Joffe
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich,
12 December 1989)

A question that does not belong to the Germans alone

All devout Christians want to get to heaven, but none of them want to get there too soon.

The response of other nations to the German Question resembles this pattern.

More verbosely in the West and with a gritting of teeth in the East statesmen proclaim that they have no objection to German unity, but add with firm resolution that things should not be rushed and that a number of preconditions must exist first. No forces delivery, thank you very much.

No-one wants a German go-alone. Whatever may unfold in the way of unity between the two German states it must be subordinated to the requirements of a European balance of power.

We should accept what Francois Mitterrand rather brusquely and undiplomatically stresses: in view of our past we Germans cannot decide independently about our future.

Bismarck broke out of this framework, partly in 1866 and completely in 1870.

Thiers already issued a warning in Paris when the North German Confederation was established.

Following the proclamation of the German Reich in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles the Conservative Benjamin Disraeli announced in the House of Commons:

"We have a new world... The balance of power is completely destroyed."

Up until 1890 Bismarck employed his diplomatic skills to maintain a balance of power and peace. Then disaster took its course. What began under the high-

Continued on page 3

French fears about emergence of a super economic force

The idea of reunification of the two parts of Germany worries France.

There are fears that Germany would then acquire a significance in East and West which would have detrimental effects on its own role and change the existing balance of power in the European Community.

"The Federal Republic of Germany is an economic giant, but a political dwarf!" Charles de Gaulle, the representative of a victorious power, was sure about his country's role.

President Pompidou experienced how the German economy overtook the French economy. Giscard d'Estaing admitted that France had become a power of intermediate importance.

Opinion surveys show that the majority of the French population supports the right of self-determination of the Germans, including their right to national unity. This reflects a profound belief in the nation and in freedom.

There is tremendous respect for the way in which the people in the GDR emphasise that they are the people, that they are entitled to sovereignty — not some party apparatus. Foreign policy in Paris, however, is practised by the government and its diplomats.

President Mitterrand defines his country's *raison d'état* as follows: France supports the right of self-determination of the Germans, but not now.

Everywhere there is reference to a new *Mitteleuropa* under German leadership.

Some fear a return to a German Reich, others talk of a future "Fourth Reich."

Especially in view of the fact that former certainties are disappearing day by day — preserving both goodwill and trust — represents the major challenge for German statecraft.

Josef Joffe
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich,
12 December 1989)

In a news programme on the public TV channel *Antenne 2* the commentator claimed that for the Germans reunification is "simply a means such as the *force de frappe* of achieving political power in order to establish their hegemony over Europe!" What makes French politicians feel uneasy is the "irresistible rise of the Germans to the dominant (economic) power in Europe."

Statistical charts published in French newspapers show that a united Germany, with a population of 78 million people (France has 58 million) and with an industrial production figure over twice that of France, would advance to become the undisputed market leader in major industries in East and West.

The integration of the East German economy into the D-mark zone would automatically pull along its former Comecon partners, such as Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, in its wake and turn the European House upside down," the magazine *Le Point* wrote on 25 September.

On 20 November *Valeurs Actuelles* even aggregated "three states of one nation" into one economic giant. The Federal Republic of Germany, Austria and the GDR would attain the significance of the two victorious powers France and Britain together.

Yet even the experienced lawyer, who presented a report on the abuse of authority and corruption in his capacity as head of the SED investigation committee during the party's special congress, finds a great deal difficult to understand.

There are simply too many tip-offs from all over the country, too much which remains obscure — even in the Central Committee building in Berlin: "I was not familiar with this House and its structures," Gysi admits. "I still have problems finding a single room."

There is no end to the deluge of revelations. The newspapers and the news programme *Akuelle Kamera* shown every evening look more and more like episodes of a crime series.

"Take, for example, the headlines of the SED newspaper *Neues Deutschland* on 4 December: 'Mittag, Tisch, Müller and Albrecht arrested', 'Search for the head of the Ko-Ko department — Schalck-Golodowski, still at large, dismissed from office', 'Citizens' initiative discovers secret arms depot.' No-one can say how much financial damage has been done. As great at least as the moral damage brought about by the former leadership.

Despite the lack of manpower the fellow travellers and accomplices of the former regime are not being welcomed with arms trading makes Honecker's peace

GERMANY

Tension rises on the streets; pleas against use of violence

In Leipzig, gallows are being taken along to demonstrations — the names of former Politburo members dangle from the crossbeams. Out-of-work servants of the former East German regime, such as secret policemen, are finding it hard to look for jobs themselves.

The privileges the former party leadership enjoyed make this society's claim to be socially fair look like a farce.

One Community party delegate at the special SED congress said that the initials SED now have a different meaning in the factory in which he works:

"S stands for *Sauwirtschaft*, (lousy economy), E for *Egoismus* (egotism) and D for *Diebstahl* (theft)."

It is hardly surprising that some people are running out of patience.

There is a growing readiness on the part of the people to violently take the law into its own hands.

In Leipzig, where the revolution began so peacefully, gallows are now being taken along to demonstrations. The names of former Politburo members are on a sign dangling from the crossbeam.

Whereas two months ago Church groups appealed to the SED regime not to use force this warning is directed today to the East German people as a whole.

Despite our anger at the violence, lies and embezzlement which have been exposed we must not resort to hate and thoughts of revenge. The respect of human dignity is indivisible."

This extract from a declaration by the Conference of Protestant Church leaders, reprinted in *Neues Deutschland* on 9 December, makes it clear just how serious the situation is.

"I am scared," said one shipyard workers told his fellow party delegates. "My colleagues don't talk to us any more. We've gambled everything away."

Party executive buildings and the buildings of the state security police are being occupied, searched and searched.

The risk of social conflict as a result of the dismissal of thousands of bureaucrats is unpredictable. Although manpower is being continuously offered to the production plants and trading facilities what use is someone who has never done more than fill in documents for "socialist competition" or compile statistics which were incorrect anyway?

Despite the lack of manpower the fellow travellers and accomplices of the former regime are not being welcomed with

the defeated. It suddenly dawns that division has much deeper reasons than the East-West confrontation.

Yet again it becomes clear that the rights of reservation of western allies were not so much a lever for German unity but a safeguard against it.

It could enable the transition of the pact systems into a comprehensive system of security in Europe, which would continue to include the Americans and the Soviets.

Up until then Nato and the Warsaw Pact would be retained — as a guarantee against uncoupling and as reassurance.

Hope, too, that the end of the Cold War will be followed by the end of the second world war. Not through a peace treaty, a crazy notion, but through the gradual change of the rights of occupation and the rights of the victorious powers into CSCE rights.

The mechanisms of the European balance of power would then have to be included into structures which emerge during the Helsinki process.

And hope that a Europe of industrial strength and prosperity will break out of the Carolean straitjacket and open up European horizons looking to the east.

In such a Europe Germans in East and West could develop a new way of life and new unalarming forms of living together.

Theo Sommer
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 15 December 1989)

open arms. The master butcher in the street where I live refused to take on two former state security officials. His laconic reply: "They'll make mincemeat out of every piece of meat."

The coal merchant whose workers stayed in the West refused to employ two former office employees. Many a Communist party meeting nowadays begins with a minute's silence for former regional secretaries and colleagues who have committed suicide. Other comrades have started to look for jobs themselves.

One lecturer at the Communist party political instruction centre, which has been closed down for the time being, has started work in an old people's home.

"At a time when there is a state of emergency in this sector," she says, "I just can't give lectures, which nobody wants to hear anyway, somewhere else."

The situation is no different at the Humboldt University in Berlin. Lecturers for Marxism-Leninism and Philosophy no longer want to stand up in front of students. For many the "revolution" in the GDR means the end. They complain that students either refuse to listen or ask questions they cannot answer.

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Despite the lack of manpower the fellow travellers and accomplices of the former regime are not being welcomed with

East Berlin party places hopes in a new face



Here to stay? Or just passing through? Gregor Gysi. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Gregor Gysi's round, nickel-rimmed glasses gleam in the TV spotlights. There can be no doubt that the new SED leader is in his element.

Everything the 41-year-old East Berlin lawyer tells Western correspondents is to the point, no matter how non-committal he may sound on details.

The longer the new East German Communist leader is questioned, the more he seems to have spent years working out by night what answers might be needed.

Not a single sentence he says is spoken on the spur of the moment, as it were.

Whether he is here to stay as one of a new generation of East German leaders is another matter. The sole survivor of the Honecker era in the new, 99-member SED executive committee is former Deputy Arts Minister Klaus Höpcke.

Yet Berlin-born Gysi has an unblemished reputation, as does his father Klaus, who used to be a Cabinet Minister yet still lives in a rented apartment in Leipziger Strasse.

In 18 years as a practising lawyer Gregor Gysi has defended everything and everyone who might have been expected to harm his career. He is held in high repute by many grassroots groups.

Many an SED member may be hoping he will prove more than a match for the Opposition. Yet scepticism predominates. SED conference delegates and the general public alike have widespread reservations about "Jack-in-the-box" Gysi.

The SED needs not only anchormen who can handle a situation from the wings, as it were, when a crisis occurs; it needs "front" men too.

Herbert Kroker, chairman of the emergency executive committee, declined the leadership, saying he was too old at sixty.

GERMANY

A nation's media step out of their Stalinist shackles and begin to make up for 40 years of lost time

After 40 years of being shackled, the East German press is making up for lost time by exposing the corruption and the web of deceit. Old guard editors have either resigned or have been sacked. Suddenly television and newspapers have become interesting. Their language has become lively. People are speaking their minds. Rainer Schmitz reports for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*.

Ladies and Gentlemen, as you will have just gathered from the news the situation in this country stinks to high heaven.

"This cannot be blamed on the smog. The stench which reeks throughout the entire land emanates from a morass of corruption."

The rapid succession of new facts and figures gives the presenter of a light entertainment programme on East German radio the chance to reach top form.

The tenor of his commentary typifies what has become the norm on all radio stations in East Germany: Radio GDR 1, Radio GDR II, Stimme der DDR, and the regional programmes such as Berliner Rundfunk, Sender Rostock, Sender Dresden, Sender Leipzig.

The fear of being called to account because of some unfortunate "slip of the tongue" has turned into courage and determination. Live broadcasts and unabridged interviews are on the agenda. The hourly early-warning "smog reports" are also new.

Ever since Karl-Eduard von Schnitzler, the figurehead of the dyed-in-the-wool Cold War campaigners in the GDR, was dismissed a great deal has also changed on GDR television. (Von Schnitzler had his own programme for many years which consisted of diatribes against the evils of the capitalist West Germany. There was never any negative comment about East Germany).

The newscasts *Aktuelle Kamera* on East German Channel One, AK 2 on Channel Two and other current affairs programmes have achieved the highest viewer ratings during recent weeks.

A particularly popular programme is *Eif 99* (= 1199), the postal code for Berlin-Adlershof, the location of the East German television studios).

Although the SED still has a dominant position most radio and television journalists are now speaking their minds and making programmes the way they want them to be: colourful, lively, frank and provocative.

Overnight, reports are pieced together which mercilessly put the finger on the country's sore spots: the dilapidated towns and cities, the ruined environment, an ailing economy, the problem of GDR emigrants to the West, the bottomless pit of corruption and immorality, and the uninhibited appraisal of the Stalinist past.

Previously banned films made in the studios of the GDR film association Difa and from the Soviet Union are now being screened.

Experts are being asked to come along to discussions on topics which were items of classified information only a few months ago and the very mention of which would have cost the editor responsible his job.

Freedom and a diversity of opinions are practised in controversial discussions.

Exchanging programmes with the western TV stations and joint productions from the GDR have almost become a matter of course.

Above all former GDR citizens who have watched East German television during recent weeks feel as if they are in some fairytale.

Normality is surpassing even their wildest dreams.

At a breathtaking pace the GDR is making up for forty lost years. For the first time the true situation in the GDR is being presented in its media.

"We just cannot find the time to read all the newspapers. From the leading article to the tide reports — everything is incredibly interesting!" This is how people currently feel about the print media in the GDR.

The East German newspapers are comparatively thin; during the week generally six to eight pages, on the weekends twice.

It has become tremendously difficult to buy newspapers on the streets. Not only because all daily newspapers have had to reduce the number of their copies for many years due to the shortage of paper, but above all because of the sharp increase in demand.

Never before has there been such an avid interest in the hitherto boring newspapers in the history of the GDR.

The media are beginning to take on the role they deserve. They have shaken off the constraints of being no more than the mouthpieces of a Communist party caste.

The Press Office of the GDR Council of Minister, up to now the most senior press censor in the GDR and the long arms of the SED Politburo, has completely forfeited this function.

The editorial staff of the state news agency ADN (*Allgemeiner Deutscher*

Reports expose the sore spots... the bottomless pit of corruption, the dilapidated cities

Nachrichten) are showing their solidarity with new developments.

To an increasing extent the editorial departments and, in particular, individual journalists are being allowed to assume personal responsibility for their reports.

They themselves have become organs of control and are pushing ahead the overall development through their disclosures of the real plight.

Being well-informed is a prerequisite for "sound judgements and proper action," the editor-in-chief of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* wrote recently.

A banal truism — but with far-reaching implications.

In the meantime all media in the GDR are chorusing in the same pitch; even the orthodox party newspaper of the (Communist) SED, *Neues Deutschland* (circulation: 800,000).

The altered mastheads are visible signs of the new approach.

Of course, the SED newspapers still exist: the *Neues Deutschland* and its regional organs, such as the *Berliner Zeitung*, the *Freie Erde*, *Das Volk* and others.

They will be allowed to articulate their

news without censorship and without any influence being taken by the editorial departments of the "host" newspaper on the content of published opinion.

The *Leipziger Zeitung* has made a start in this respect; however, it does give the impression that this was the result of its own initiative and not of the roundtable talks. It is still not clear when the New Forum will be setting up its own authorized weekly newspaper (circulation roughly 100,000).

Up to now only the established parties have the corresponding apparatus for the election campaign and party-political dispute at their disposal.

The Opposition is currently fighting for official authorisation to establish its own publishers and newspapers. In view of the election scheduled to take place on 6-May-1990, this is absolutely essential.

The possibilities the Church provided to those groups which operated under its umbrella are far too limited.

There is a lack of paper, printing capac-

Language has become more lively, more biting... four decades of silence has not killed its power

cities and an independent distribution network.

In this situation help must be provided by the West. Representatives of the western media groups are now regular visitors to editorial departments and publishers in the GDR.

Their goal is to form joint ventures, which means providing more and better paper, an extended distribution network and a transfer of profits.

The problems at the local and regional level are often even more revolutionary" since they are more immediate. A great deal of dirty linen is being washed in public. The struggle for new positions is above all a struggle for the use of the right language.

East Germans are no longer afraid. Language has become a medium and a weapon. Overnight, reports became more colourful, more lively, more trenchant, more biting and more witty.

The power of language of the renewers and democrats has not been eliminated during the four decades of forced silence.

Will the GDR newspapers be able to survive the current upheavals?

The Stalinist press laws still exist as do the licensing stipulations and regulations of the Press Office of the Council of Ministers. *De facto*, however, they have been annulled.

Any journalist can now work how and where he likes. Because of the fixed quotas for paper, however, the circulation figures for East German newspapers are still restricted.

Once the election campaign begins in earnest and majorities start to push their views in the media some newspapers will have to fight for their survival.

Journalistic circles expect some newspapers to fall by the wayside during this process.

Der Morgen, the newspaper of the Liberal Democrats (LDPD), has offered the Opposition groups — Democratic Awakening, Democracy Now, New Forum and the SDP — to make its columns available for its interests.

Up to now these groups have been hesitant about taking up this offer, for fear of being instrumentalised.

Agreement was reached on the interim stage during the roundtable talks on 7 December. The Opposition groups are to be allotted space regularly in the various newspapers.

Rainer Schmitz
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 15 December 1989)

East German experts were clearly still most unsure how and when people might accept indispensable price reforms. They were deterred by experience gained with drastic price increases in Poland and the Soviet Union.

Yet they realised that now the border had been opened there was an urgent need for action.

Details were the real problem, Professor Gutmann said. Many combines in the GDR enjoyed a monopoly position and could more or less charge whatever prices they saw fit.

The price reform must thus be accompanied by breaking combines down into smaller units. The present explosive situation must on no account be exacerbated by hyperinflation.

GDR experts agreed that the reform process would be a race against time and made much more difficult by a harsh winter, if there was to be one, and by a conflict-laden process of opinion formation.

The GDR's political leaders and their economic advisers were well aware what preconditions were needed to trigger an influx of private investment, said Klaus Wiener, head of the economics department at the Westdeutsche Landesbank.

They also realised that this influx would accelerate the process of economic renewal.

Yet both the SED and Opposition reformers were still reluctant to bring their political and social wishes into line with the regulatory changes they necessitated.

No-one could object in the least to a wide range of viewpoints, but time was short and decisions were urgently required.

Hans Jürgens
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 December 1989)

PERSPECTIVE

Need to stave off instability by showing East Germans that something is happening

were, he said, still running fairly smoothly.

They were still manageable and operational and continued, above all, to fulfil export commitments.

There must be no question of the GDR failing to meet its contractual obligations, which was why the time had not yet come for a change of management. That could be left until later.

There were signs not only of new politicians but of new enterprises that were keen to forge ahead in the GDR.

Professor Jugel was convinced the Socialist Unity Party (SED) would no longer oppose such legislation as might be needed to introduce a free market system.

SED members seemed to have realised that "dangers only lurk for those who fail to respond to life," to quote Mr Gorbachov again.

Yet the once all-powerful Plan Commission in East Berlin was still convinced at the end of November, said Professor Steinitz of the Central Institute of Economic Sciences, East Berlin, that "toning up" and "debureaucratizing" the existing system was all that was needed in their expectations.

Professor Jugel is worried that an "irrational revolt" might turf out the old works management and lead to a total breakdown in supplies that are, as yet, still fairly safe. The old system, he says, was not entirely bad.

The most serious threats to stability in the GDR are, as he sees it, the ongoing exodus of mainly young workers to the West and an escalation of the popular uprising to industrial action.

To counter these trends, supplies must be improved quantitatively and qualitatively as soon as possible by making full use of the swing, as the interest-free facility for running a surplus of imports from the Federal Republic is known.

In addition, people must be offered an "acceptable economic system," which could only mean a free market economy with all it entailed.

Immediate measures must include cooperation and joint ventures with companies in the Federal Republic and in other Western countries as soon as possible.

A "restructuring of thinking" must be embarked on by sending trainees and management staff to the Federal Republic for training or by means of energetic backing from the Federal Republic.

The committee was to be set up on a provisional basis prior to Federal Chancellor Kohl's 19 December visit to Dresden, Mayor Momper said.

Berlin is thus setting the pace for other areas on either side of the intra-German border. Action was urgently needed in Berlin, where visas for travel to and from the East seemed likely to be scrapped before Christmas and not just in the New Year.

West Berlin will then cease to lead a separate, "island" existence. The walled-in city will then be rejoined to its surroundings.

"We need to show people something is happening, otherwise there will be no further need for discussion," says Professor Jugel, who is evidently now using the process and systems engineering he teaches in a bid to control social processes.

Professor Jugel, 41, is a member of the GDR's technological intelligentsia.

He and a number of colleagues from the GDR were in Düsseldorf for expert talks with West German economists at the Westdeutsche Landesbank.

The combines that make up the lion's share of industrial capacity in the GDR

Working to regain a hinterland for West Berlin

leader Erich Honecker the situation was

at times so weird that in West Berlin the use of private cars was banned while in East Berlin people were not even warned that atmospheric pollution had reached smog alarm levels.

When a smog alarm was sounded in the West many people in East Berlin felt unsure of themselves. This situation is no longer to arise.

Other oddities that can now be ended include maintenance and repairs to water and gas mains intended for decades in the erstwhile death strip along the border.

Some of the ugly watchtowers along the border have been abandoned for days. Around Potsdamer Platz so many souvenir-hunters have chipped pieces out of the Wall that it looks more like a Swiss cheese than the Wall of old.

This city-centre area is where the wounds of a city divided for nearly 40 years are most readily apparent. Potsdamer Platz, where the heart of metropolitan Berlin once beat, degenerated to an urban wasteland.

Now it has been reopened to traffic between the two halves of the city, life has returned. An East-West working party is now to consider how best to breathe fresh life into the area.

One proposal from East Berlin has been to build a north-south autobahn along the disused border strip.

Plans to extend the urban autobahn from Neukölln, West Berlin, to neighbouring Treptow, East Berlin, have already given rise to a local government dispute.

Indeed, the neighbouring province of Brandenburg is now open for excursions, and the S-Bahn, or suburban electric railway, seems likely to run from the city centre to Potsdam and Nauen again, as there will be a repeat of the 1948-49 Berlin blockade.

Land used in the West to stockpile coal and food for emergency use can now be reallocated. No-one now feels there will ever be a repeat of the 1948-49 Berlin blockade.

Brandenburg is now open for excursions, and the S-Bahn, or suburban electric railway, seems likely to run from the city centre to Potsdam and Nauen again, as there will be a repeat of the 1948-49 Berlin blockade.

Might that herald a revival of the tram, or streetcar, which was phased out in West Berlin nearly 23 years ago? At all events public transport fares are to be standardised in East and West Berlin from the New Year.

For people in West Berlin leisure facilities stand to improve dramatically. Berlin is surrounded by a wealth of rivers, canals and lakes. It could well regain its status as a paradise for people who like "messing about in boats."

The white-liveried steamers of the Weisse Flotte might well cross West Berlin next season, taking day-trippers from Müggelsee to Potsdam via Charlottenburg.

Boaters will no longer need to turn back at the buoys that mark the border. Moorings may even be available outside the city limits.

These may be minor details among the many issues with which the regional committee will have to deal, but for the people of Berlin they are most important.

Paul F. Duwe

(Nürberger Nachrichten, 14 December 1989)

THE EAST GERMAN ECONOMY

Lots of slogans, fears of a sellout and a vote in favour of planification

East Germans know that their economic system has been a dismal failure. Drastic changes are needed. But what? Many are reluctant to let market forces have the field to themselves. Klaus-Peter Schmidt reports for the Hamburg weekly, *Die Zeit*.

One must presumably be a German professor to see as clearly as say, Professor Wolfram Engels of Frankfurt what needs to be done next.

"The call for better socialism," he says, "is irresponsible idle talk even when it is made by trade union leaders, leading Social Democrats or members of the clergy. A free market economy is the only solution."

Professor Engels' Cologne colleague Christian Watrin is equally clear on what the GDR needs:

"What is lacking is, first and foremost, the cornerstone of the 1948 economic and monetary reform in the West: a clear regulatory policy concept and the political will, as personified by Ludwig Erhard, to introduce free market economics."

In reality politicians in the GDR are somewhat at a loss on how to breathe fresh life into the East German economy. No-one wants to continue as hitherto, yet they don't want to part company with socialism entirely either.

Slogans in circulation include a "socialist market economy" and "market-oriented economic planning." The search is under way for a socially acceptable change of system.

At the same time there are grave fears of an economic sell-out, fears expressed by the State Planning Commission's working party on economic reform as follows:

"Every attempt, on the basis of whatever slogan, to undertake mere cosmetic changes will inevitably lead, in the shortest space of time, to economic collapse and thus to terms dictated by leading Western banks and, in the final analysis, to a take-over of the GDR by the Federal Republic."

Despite their disorientation most people in the GDR seem to realise that realistic prices, competition, work-related pay and Western aid will be indispensable.

GDR Economic Affairs Minister Christa Luft evidently feels dogmatic skirmishes are superfluous.

"There is so much harping upon concepts," she says, "and planning is vilified while the market is made out to be of almost mythical importance. I don't see the market as a prerogative of capitalism."

She is also on record as saying: "I find it hard today to say this is capitalist and that is socialist."

The economic principles embodied in Articles 9 to 12 of the GDR's constitution nonetheless stand no chance of survival. They deal with social ownership of the means of production, with central state planning and with nationalised industry.

Their crucial tenet is: "The economy of the German Democratic Republic is a socialist planned economy."

It is clear, after 40 years of economic planning, that the way ahead must be toward market economics. It is also clear that an immediate and total opening to external influence would be fatal.

Even Professor Luft's opposite number in Bonn, Federal Economic Affairs Minister Helmut Haussmann, counsels patience and advises against simplistic ideas.

"The reform process need not necessarily lead to a carbon copy of our social market economy," he says. "There is a wide range of possible solutions on the basis of a free-market system."

Is there, however, a road the GDR could take that amounts to more than a straight choice between socialism and capitalism?

"A so-called market-oriented planned economy would merely be a continuation of the old system of economic tutelage under a new name," says Ota Sik, a reform economist in Prague in 1968 and now an economics don at St Gallen University, Switzerland.

Since the 1960s Professor Sik has untiringly advocated economic reforms not based on dogmatic ideology.

In his memoirs, published in 1988, he stresses that he sees his "academic progress toward a Third Road model mainly as a theoretical contribution toward impending attempts at reform in socialist countries."

The most urgent need, he says, is to step up the introduction of a market mechanism linked with market and competition pressure on production facilities.

He proposes an in-between approach:

- In place of central planning of production he proposes macroeconomic framework planning. Rather than set planning targets for individual factories it must outline the points of emphasis, priorities and objectives of economic policy.

- Factors such as output, consumption and investment take shape from competition. The state uses instruments of incomes, fiscal, money and monetary policy appropriate to the market in order to attain its social, economic and ecological objectives.

- Ownership of the working capital of large companies is transferred wholly or in part to their staff, resulting in worker participation in management decisions. This capital participation is aimed, Professor Sik says, at "ending one-sided wage and job interests."

- His ideas may yet to have been tried out anywhere in practice, but there is much to be said for them.

- An overall "macro-plan" drawn up for a period of several years could help to forestall the threat of disorientation resulting from a sudden departure from the principle of centralised production planning.

- By planning more flexibly the state could clearly outline its priorities and at

Continued from page 2

nology, history and organisational presence could then give the "Fourth German Economic Reich" an unparalleled lead in the East.

Edouard Balladur, the Economics Minister in the cohabitation government and a close adviser of the head of the Neo-Gaullists, Jacques Chirac, gave Mitterrand a fitting answer before he travelled to Kiel:

"German unity will come about. Politicians should stop claiming that the question of Germany's reunification is not on

the same time set guidelines for the public and private sectors.

They might, for instance, include medium-term financial planning specifying framework targets for government revenue and expenditure and stating priorities for public-sector investment, so badly needed in infrastructure, for instance.

This would fix neither wages nor prices and in no way ease the pressure of competition on companies. In other words, the market would retain a decisive and predominant influence.

The East Bloc's state trading countries have so far refused to consider such ideas, yet they have long been practised in one capitalist country, France, where government planning — *planification* — is a byword.

In the post-war years in particular, in the days of French industrial reconstruction, indicative (as opposed to facilitative, or mandatory) planning was an invaluable political instrument.

Mention is even made of Japan and its influential Ministry of International Trade and Industry (Miti) as a model.

Miti ensures that industrial and government interests interlock, but Japanese

industry sets international standards and the Japanese government's aim is not to control but to promote industry.

The only Third Road that appears lacking in attraction in Yugoslavia, having led via workers' self-administration to such deep-seated economic crisis that it has forfeited all claims to attraction.

Only a handful of points seem to be held in common in what is a most confusing debate. They include the idea of a mixed system including private ownership of the means of production, foreign participation and coexistence of the private and public sectors.

Berlin economist Professor Gurtz describes the interplay of these factors as follows: "The economy will proceed in accordance with market laws along paths laid out by central government planning."

If this is to work, the motivation of all concerned must not be neglected. As Professor Rüdiger Pohl put it in *Die Zeit*: "Self-interest is indispensable."

Is there a Third Road? The GDR will not be a success with a "better socialism," but at least for a transitional period it will find it hard to dispense with elements of planning.

Irrational yet understandable fears still make the outcome of the discussions in the Club of 43 uncertain.

For this reason a decisive aspect is whether the concept elaborated by Han-

over over the last two years is convincing enough.

The transformation of a predominantly agricultural country into a modern industrial state capable of holding its own against European competition was undoubtedly facilitated by the coordinating and motivating effect of the plan.

Logically enough, what General de Gaulle called the "burning obligation" held good for the limited period during which the French economy was thrown open to the outside world.

The GDR planning commission's working party on economic reform has proposed evaluating the experience of selected capitalist countries with economic reform and arriving at conclusions for our own further progress."

This is already being done in the debate that is in progress in political parties and at universities and production facilities.

Mention is, for instance, made of the "Swedish model." In Sweden capitalism, by virtue of welfare state guarantees, is felt by socialists to have a human face.

But Sweden is a rich country that can afford high social standards on the basis of an affluent economy.

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BUSINESS

Aspects of the German Question might hurt Hanover's chances of holding Expo 2000

policy came amazingly close to the planning targets.

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Hanover has all the preconditions to hold Expo, the world trade exhibition, in the Year 2000. The question is if the organisers agree. Expo would be a coup for a city which has an unkink history. It was once a mere provincial outpost of the British Empire and, later, a provincial Prussian city. Is this the end of Hanover's provincialism? Ivo Frenzel reports for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

over over the last two years is convincing enough.

The entire wealth of ideas will finally be pooled in an international popular-scientific centre, the real heart of the world exposition will try to prove the power of dialogue and of theory in conjunction with practical demonstrations at individual country pavilions.

The city of Hanover is convinced that it is already in good shape for such a mammoth event.

During the three to four months of the exposition between twelve and eighteen million visitors are expected.

The Kronsberg to the south-east of the city provides roughly three million square metres of open ground, most of which would be available for the exposition.

The adjoining exhibition grounds, an area which ranks as one of the most scenic and functional of its kind in the world, would also be incorporated into the Expo 2000.

In particular the smaller nations would not there be obliged to erect expensive overground buildings for their country pavilions.

The Greens have environmental misgivings about the project, feeling that its sheer size involves the risk that the city might degenerate into a "throw-away location" after the event itself is over and that it will then be worse off than before.

The organisers counter such criticism by developing concrete plans for the continued utilisation of the grounds after the exposition.

There are already 42 restaurants, 15,000 beds, and three spacious shopping streets.

As Hanover is a major exhibition centre the world exposition grounds would have Europe's biggest private railway station at its disposal, with twelve platforms, motorway links and parking space for 50,000 cars.

On the one hand, Hanover is a good location as a pivotal point for the presentation of technical, scientific and cultural achievements in East and West.

On the other hand, some of the 43 member states of the International Exhibition Bureau in Paris may now have reservations about giving the contract to a German city.

They may fear that by the year 2000 Hanover could be part of a German-German confederation and they have no intention of giving such an economic giant an opportunity to demonstratively display its power.

A world exposition which does not simply display the euphoria of a pluralistic world civilisation with sophisticated technology, but which tries to outline strategies for averting the threat to the earth created by global industrialisation — this really is a new concept.

In order to translate the concept into reality interdisciplinary study groups will regularly be invited to come along to forum meetings in Hanover to define conceptual targets in more concrete terms.

The result is a concept for an exhibition at which the participant nations can present their ideas on how to solve the problems of the future.

The concept opts for matter-of-fact discussions with a clear awareness of the problems which exist rather than for the mere entertainment favoured during former world exhibitions.

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BUSINESS

Mannesmann wins scramble for mobile-telephone licence

RHEINISCHE MERKUR

The die is cast in the most expensive invitation of tenders in German industrial history.

A consortium led by the Mannesmann group has been awarded the contract licence to set up and operate the D2 digital mobile telephone system. The magic formula D2 means really big money for the licensee.

For the first time in its history the German Bundespost has dropped its telecommunications monopoly and granted the licence for a new system to another operator.

According to experts' estimates the deal is worth DM8bn. Mannesmann can expect to pocket annual profits to the tune of DM500m.

The prospect of such a good catch triggered an unparalleled tussle in the world's third largest industrial nation.

Ten bidders scrambled to get the licence, each convinced that it had an ace up its sleeve in this game of mobile radio poker.

What does the D2 future hold? First and foremost it promises brilliant technology.

The "D" stands for "digital technology", the ultramodern competitor to the previously analog-operated mobile radio networks B and C.

The latter have a limited loading capacity and can only be operated in West Germany.

D2 introduces a new dimension. The new network will cover eighteen European countries and knows no frontiers.

Each mobile telephone owner can use his phone Europe-wide. He can be contacted by phone from the North Cape to Sicily.

Digital technology ranks as bug-proof; crackling and hissing sounds are no more.

Each country linked to the system is split up into a host of honeycomb-like cells. Each cell has a transmitting and a receiving station, which can cover an area of up to 50 kilometres.

Exchange centres pass on each call, even beyond the "borders" of each individual cells.

This makes sure that even in urban concentrations calls get through straight away and do not die an early death as in the case of the C network, which will nevertheless be retained beyond the year 2000.

All this works with the help of easily portable phones, which will weigh well under 1 kilogram. Some of the phones, which can be purchased at any nearby TV dealer, will be no bigger than a cigarette packet.

The ISDN standard enables data communication and telecopier transmission to any reception point, including to and from a car.

It could thus be linked to a radio motor guidance system to provide drivers with better orientation in unfamiliar locations.

Whereas the currently used C network with its 150,000 users can at most be extended to 450,000 users the D2 network has a capacity ceiling of four million West German users.

Such prospects for future communications will make prices tumble. A C network device currently costs between DM6,000 and DM7,000. The basic

monthly rental is DM120 and a minute's phonecall (daytime rate) costs DM1.73 (each unit lasts eight seconds, at night-time 20 seconds).

Doing it digitally will be a lot cheaper. Experts believe that the large number of units produced and computer chips will bring the price of a D network device down to that of a high-quality car radio, which costs roughly DM2,000. The call charges will drop to about DM1.

The introduction of digital technology means the end — by 1993 at the latest — of the old analog-operated B network, where calls had to be connected through the lady at the telephone exchange.

Second-hand C network equipment is also then likely to be sold at bargain prices. There will be one or two competing operators in each country using digital technology.

Two networks are planned in the Federal Republic of Germany: D1 operated by the Deutsche Bundespost Telekom, and D2 operated by a private-enterprise group.

The decision in favour of the Mannesmann group was taken by the Steering Committee, a kind of "Council of Mobile Radio Experts" appointed by the Federal Minister of Posts and Telecommunications.

It is chaired by the Hamburg economics professor Erhard Kantenbach and has five members from the Posts and Telecommunications, Economics and Research Ministries.

The committee had to work its way through over 10,000 pages of application documents.

The quality of the D2 network will depend on the location of the 25-metre transmission towers.

The licence has been awarded for 15 years. Two-thirds of the West German radio reception area must be covered by 1994.

Another Mannesmann partner is Pacific Telesis, a US mobile radio operator with one of the largest customer networks, the British Cable and Wireless group, one of the first operators to establish a digital telephone network in Europe, and the French company Lyonnaise des Eaux.

The crafts are also represented in the consortium. According to the Central Association of German Crafts (ZDH), the project gives small and medium-sized businesses "the chance to successfully work together with a financially powerful partner."

The crafts intend taking on work in the marketing, maintenance and repair segments of the mobile radio network.

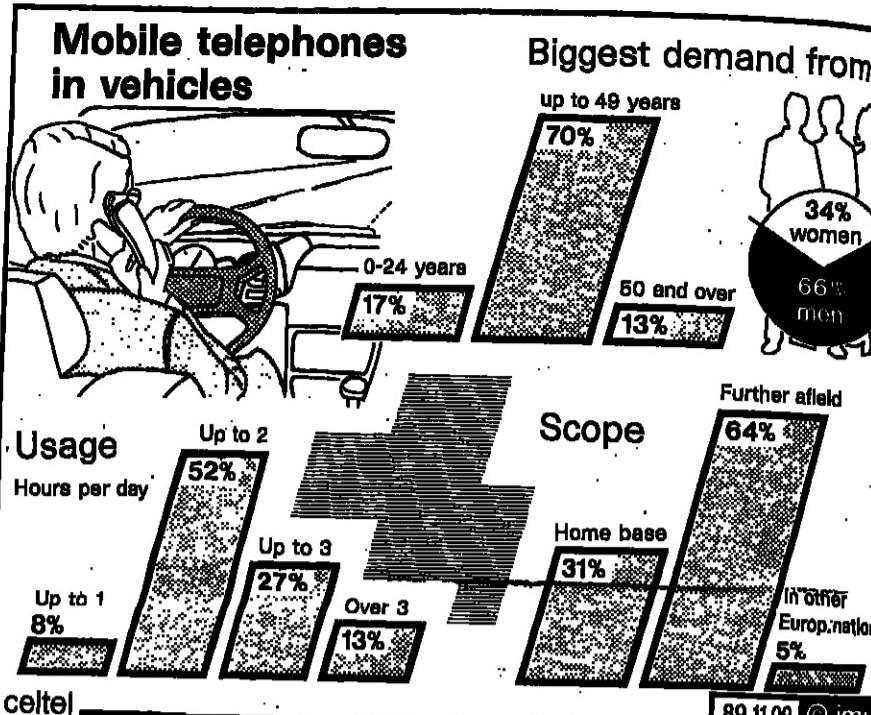
The Central Association of German Electrical Trades (ZVEH) and the Central Association of the Motor Trade

Continued from page 3

turncoat who is likely to be turfed out by his own rank and file before long.

So does that mean the GDR will be ruled by Hans Modrow, who wants all, and Gregor Gysi, who knows all, until the general election next May?

Maybe it would be as well not to underestimate the No. 3 Mayor Berghofer, who ranks alongside Premier Modrow as the politician with most public appeal, shrewdly turned down offers of the SED



MOTORING

Successful pilot tests mean green light for advanced trials with diesel-electric car

After gathering experience with its prototype of the environmentally clean and energy-saving diesel-electric car "Hybrid I" the Volkswagen group in Wolfsburg is teaming up with the Swiss Technical College (ETH) in Zurich to test a technically upgraded model in a large-scale trial.

Between 40 and 50 Golfs will be converted to the hybrid drive and tested over a period of two years. (Audi is experimenting with a similar model. — Ed.)

This hybrid car can be driven with a battery-powered electric engine in built-up areas and with a diesel engine on fast and steep roads.

This form of feedback, however, is inefficient; only 15 to 20 per cent of the braking energy can be fed back in this way.

The total loss of braking energy accounts for roughly 20 per cent of the total energy needs.

Apart from this braking energy feedback a major advantage of the hybrid concept is that it saves drive energy during slow journeys in city traffic.

At the usual speeds the efficiency of an international combustion engine (10 to 15 per cent) is extremely low, whereas the electric engine can achieve levels of 25 per cent or more.

On open roads and at high speeds, on the other hand, the "Hybrid" can fully utilise the higher efficiency of a combustion engine.

A further substantial advantage is that the emission of car exhaust fumes is shifted away from built-up areas — as in the case of any electric car, which cannot be used for overland and long-distance travel. In addition, the electric drive is very quiet.

The clear advantages of a hybrid drive must, among other things, be achieved at the expense of an increased total weight.

The estimate is based on the figures for January until August and the provisional figures for September and October.

The lowest figure since the registration of traffic statistics began in 1953 was in 1987 (7,967 deaths).

The number of injured persons is expected to figure at about 447,000, roughly as high as last year's figure.

Although the total number of accidents registered by the police will probably fall by 20,000 or 1.1 per cent a figure of two million is expected for the second time since 1953.

The most frequent cause of accidents was failure to adjust speed to driving conditions (20 per cent). Alcohol, on the other hand, is not such a major factor as it was last year.

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 5 December 1989)



Test driver Jürgen Wett

© imu

Photo: R. Schäfer

A small part of the electricity needed is provided without any harm to the environment by the hybrid section.

The electric drive will weigh about 35 kilograms; using a sodium-sulphur battery the battery will still at best weigh 90 kilograms.

The "fleet trial" of "Hybrid II A" and "Hybrid II B" will provide fuel consumption and exhaust emission figures indicating what the future has in store for hybrid cars.

The extent to which the increased weight influences actual consumption is one of the unknown parameters.

It is clear, however, that driving habits will have to be changed to take full advantage of the hybrid drive. Driving or putting on the brakes too fast would eliminate the energy-saving potential of the braking engine.

Up to now Volkswagen has invested approximately DM10m in the hybrid drive testing.

The large-scale trial in Zurich for the 40 to 50 converted Golfs will cost between 5.5 and 7.5 million Swiss francs.

The Swiss Federal Government, the canton and the city of Zurich will contribute 700,000 francs and the National Energy Research Fund (NEFF) will chip in 2.5 million francs.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 4 December 1989)

Fewer deaths

Despite growing traffic congestion in the Federal Republic of Germany and cars which can drive faster and faster the number of deaths on the roads will probably be close to the lowest ever recorded this year.

According to the Federal Statistical Office in Wiesbaden just under 8,000 people will have been killed in road accidents by the end of this year, roughly three per cent less than in 1988.

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(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 5 December 1989)

The crash lab

During the past 30 years, Daimler-Benz has crashed at least 3,000 of its up-market cars at full speed into concrete walls, crash-barriers or stationary lorries or cars at its production plant in Sindelfingen near Stuttgart.

What was left for accident researchers and development engineers was valuable scrap.

Daimler-Benz decided in 1959 that only tests under practical driving conditions could help improve car safety.

In those days display dummies were used to discover the critical impact threshold in the passenger area.

The main aim of these crashes is to design a car in such a way that "crumple zones" are able to substantially reduce the impact and that the passenger section of the car is damaged as little as possible.

Daimler-Benz say the firm is the pioneer of impact tests. A surge in the development of road safety took place in 1969 in the wake of tighter US regulations.

(dpa)

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 11 December 1989)

No dummies on duty

Police in a Rhineland town are not to be allowed to use cardboard dummies as a cost-saving way of increasing manpower as

those days display dummies were used to discover the critical impact threshold in the passenger area.

The main aim of these crashes is to design a car in such a way that "crumple zones" are able to substantially reduce the impact and that the passenger section of the car is damaged as little as possible.

During talks in the city council about how to prevent speeding on roads in city centres it became clear that the police cannot increase the number of radar checks.

City councillors came up with the idea of playing a psychological trick on speed maniacs.

Not all flash photographic equipment at traffic light junctions, for example, is always in operation. So why, they asked, should patrol cars always have real policemen inside? Car drivers should get used to the fact that police dummies or real policemen might be sat in patrol cars.

In its application for approval of this idea the city of Siegburg, endorsed a report by the police in Herborn (Hesse) confirming that the police were able to calm down traffic by using the police dummies.

Cologne's regional council chairman Antwerpes, however, decided that the dummies would not lead to any "noticeable change in driving behaviour".

Furthermore, he pointed out his fundamental reservations about such "dubious operational methods".

Antwerpes forgot to mention that experts had a different reason for rejecting the trick: crooks might seize the driverless car and used it and the dummy uniforms to commit a crime.

Most pile-ups took place on Fridays (39,000) and the least number of pile-ups were recorded on Sundays (21,000). The largest number of accidents occurred in May (36,772).

(dpa)

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 6 December 1989)

Beware of midday

The risk of being involved in a car accident in built-up areas is at its highest between midday and 3 p.m.

An analysis published by the German Motorists' Association ADAC showed that last year just under a fifth of all accidents occurred at this time even though only a seventh of the total traffic volume was on the roads.

Although most crashes were recorded between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. only a quarter of all motorists were en route at that time.

According to the ADAC report the safest period for a city drive is the early-morning rush hour.

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(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 6 December 1989)

What is happening in Germany? How does Germany view the world?

You will find the answers to these questions in DIE WELT, Germany's independent national quality and economic daily newspaper.

Otto Jörg Wett

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 11 December 1989)

Hans Schlemann

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 8 December 1989)

Photo: Springer Verlag AG, DIE WELT, Postfach 305830, D-2000 Hamburg 36

THE ARTS

40 years of East Germany: music once again in the shadows of politics

The touring exhibition on "Degenerate Music - Music in the Third Reich" is now showing at the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg.

It has already been presented in Berlin, Munich and other German cities as well as abroad (among other places in Amsterdam and Tel Aviv), where, hardly surprisingly, it met with a particularly critical response.

The repeatedly depressing aspect of this highly embarrassing new encounter with the past is the behaviour of honourable and highly educated yet pliant and hence corruptible musicians in the power apparatus of the Third Reich.

Today we gaze as if spellbound at the collapse of the SED power apparatus in the GDR and witness how the loyalty to the state of its most prominent artists crumbles.

There is no doubt that - as in the Third Reich - the four decades of the GDR's official music policy will bring to light a host of hitherto unknown facts and figures.

During the early post-war years there was still a common potential of German musicians, which also included soloists and directors, despite the Cold War.

Cellist Böhm travelled to the "Eastern Zone" with the, at that time "his", Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

Joseph Keilberth directed in the Western Zones, but lived in Dresden and organised important productions in the East Berlin State Opera House (which was in the Admiral's Palace back in those days).

In 1949, however, he already stated his position in no uncertain terms: "Once my children start going to school I will have to get out."

Others were similarly sensitive. Erich Kleiber, the designated head of the newly constructed Knobelsdorff building Unter den Linden, resigned his post in anger because he felt that the political arm of the Communist Party was far too long.

This did not seem to bother Franz Konwitschny, who moved to Leipzig and then to Dresden and East Berlin from Hanover in 1949 and remained one of the renowned bastions of the GDR's music policy until he died in 1962.

His director in Berlin, Hans Pischner, an excellent cembalo player and, in his own words, always a convinced Socialist, has occupied prominent posts since 1950. During recent weeks he has been obliged to admit that there were serious shortcomings in the work of the GDR's Cultural Association.

A much more scrutinous yardstick is now being employed to assess the "good conduct" or lack of it on the part of internationally renowned GDR artists than a few months ago.

This particularly applies to GDR citizens whose origins and reputation demanded a tremendous degree of loyalty to give them preferential treatment through international travel, fees paid in western currencies, state awards and the rest.

Other prominent GDR musicians, who did not want to accept such preferential treatment and who opted for a loss of living in their native land, made their careers abroad, for example, the directors Hauschild, Gühke or Tennstedt (like Kempe, Schneidt or Richter in the previous generation).



Admittedly, the exodus was limited - whether because of a lack of talents, loyalty to the GDR state or simply the inability to leave the country.

The GDR's music "business" was kept going by numerous guests with a foreign passport: Vaclav Neumann, Hans Vonk or Ottmar Suitner in permanent posts or flying visits by Böhm and Kleiber, Colin Davis, Geoffrey Tate and many others.

Prominent musicians and undisputed servants of the state were able to hold high office.

The pianist Dieter Zechlin, for example, whose many recordings attest to his professional abilities, towed the official party line so strictly during the congress of the World Music Council in East Berlin a few years ago that he did not even dare to welcome West Berlin's festival director Ulrich Eckhardt (the UNESCO in Paris and quite literally appointed Eckhardt to give the laudatory speech for Messiaen).

In the meantime Zechlin is probably also just as "appalled by the machinations of the corrupt GDR leadership" as Theo Adam was in Munich. Adam handed back the "Star of People's Friendship" he was once awarded.

The excellent trumpeter Güttler, who up until recently did not exactly refrain from underlining his outstanding

social role in the GDR ("If the border guards cause any trouble I just complain to the SED regional command, after all I did receive the National Award"), has also now handed back the award.

In the Communist Party newspaper *Neues Deutschland* the GDR music expert and violinist Gustav Schmahl, whose permanent visa also afforded him the most important special privilege, claims that he was "intellectually stunted" during the "almost three decades of our imprisonment".

As adjudicator at the Cologne Kulturkampf Competition only one-and-a-half years ago he informed me about the benefits of life as a musician in the GDR, which is completely different to the image even described tendentiously in this newspaper.

He should know, since he was principal of the most important music institute in the GDR, the Leipzig College of Music.

Now, however, we read in *Neues Deutschland*: "I maintain that numerous notable talents developed against or despite our colleges of music."

Was Schmahl, despite all his influence, in such a weak position that he can now, no sooner has the pressure from above declined, denounced the former establishment of the GDR's cultural life he himself helped create.

A musician from Munich on a flight to Dresden to play Beethoven's Ninth as a "gift of solidarity" talked of Janus with a permanent visa.

Musicians from Dresden and Leip-

zig were keen on discussing the new situation in the GDR with their Bavarian colleagues.

One controversial topic was the attitude of the director of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Kurt Masur, who has been nominated to become a freeman of the city.

There was a clash of views on his political integrity, although no-one doubted his musical integrity and the fact that he had achieved a great deal for his musicians.

Masur, a good friend of Erich Honecker and for many years the exponent of a regime whose abominable methods are only now being officially realised in the GDR, undoubtedly had his doubts about the regime much earlier.

Those musicians who regard Masur as a father figure claimed that they would never have obtained the Gewandhaus without his support, which would have made "things a lot worse."

This is reminiscent of the controversies about Furtwängler's position on the Nazi regime.

Musik im Schatten der Politik (Music in the Shadows of Politics) is the name of a famous book which dealt with this gloomy period.

Now that the shadows of the GDR regime are beginning to become less dark and the pressure of the state is on the wane GDR musicians are starting to express their indignation.

In almost all cases this is surprising and in almost all cases surprisingly sudden.

On the return flight from Dresden one of the Munich musicians summed up the way he felt:

"Let's be grateful that we do not have to prove whether we could be martyrs or not."

Albrecht Roeseler
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich,
7 December 1989)

Public anger turns towards artists who flourished under the system

In a critical appraisal of her impression of current events in the GDR and in the Federal Republic of Germany one clever foreign observer claimed that the Germans are all too in love with the majority.

This is understandable at a time when momentary changes release so much political and social imaginativeness.

Even people who otherwise tend to be level-headed engage in the wildest of speculations.

Like all sudden feelings, however, the situation can make people blind and is thus accompanied by risks.

Not only in the centres of the non-violent revolution in the GDR but also right down to the level of small towns and villages the phase of the expulsion of the "corrupt old men" of the Politbüro (Wolf Biermann) and the shattering of the regime it established from within will be followed by a period of retribution.

In this context many eyes turn to those artists, of whom there are plenty, who benefited in one way or another from the former system, either through public employment contracts at home or by more or less accepting the privileges of being allowed to publish or even appear (to travel freely to and fro) in the West.

This particularly applies to GDR citizens whose origins and reputation demanded a tremendous degree of loyalty to give them preferential treatment through international travel, fees paid in western currencies, state awards and the rest.

Other prominent GDR musicians, who did not want to accept such preferential treatment and who opted for a loss of living in their native land, made their careers abroad, for example, the directors Hauschild, Gühke or Tennstedt (like Kempe, Schneidt or Richter in the previous generation).

The privilege for which they were envied yesterday now arouses suspicion.

once was against the aristocrats after 1789?

Although there is an understandable anger at the mismanagement of the former rulers in the GDR, an anger which is now also being directed at those who were useful to the system as representatives of the official cultural activities of the state, excesses such as the attack on Tübke's property reflect elements of the fatal German self-righteousness and thorough arrogance which is damaging and shameful (not only in this phase of our history).

During his concert in Leipzig on 1 December Wolf Biermann warned against acts of revenge. The applause was pretty weak, a bad sign.

Although most of the artists from the GDR who presented their works in the Federal Republic of Germany were not exactly prosecutors of the GDR government - who could have asked this of them? - they were not enthusiastic yes-men. This also applies to Tübke.

The personal situation of privileged persons who want publicity for their work and need a certain protection of the state to do so has always been difficult.

In the end, however, it is their work which counts.

It would not be a sign of the strength of the new moral principles of "the people" if public anger at the corrupt system now takes its revenge on those who just wanted to continue thinking, writing or painting within the constraints of a society they may themselves have basically rejected.

Peter Iden
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 December 1989)

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ENERGY

Experimental plant aims at producing by fusion instead of fission

Aldridge-Blum

A new fusion experiment installation (Asdex-Upgrade) is being constructed at the Max Planck Institute of Plasma Physics (IPP) in Garching near Munich.

On completion it will be the biggest fusion centre in the Federal Republic of Germany and will help investigate key aspects of fusion research under conditions similar to those in a proper reactor.

Roughly 25 West German and foreign firms companies were involved in the production of the main components of the experiment.

Altogether several hundred firms contributed towards the construction and assembly of Asdex-Upgrade.

The experiment, the assembly of which began following the delivery of the first construction components in 1988, is scheduled to go into operation in 1990.

The aim of fusion research is to develop a fusion reactor which can obtain energy from the fusion of atomic nuclei.

The fuel used for fusion is a very thin ionised gas — a so-called "plasma" — comprising the two hydrogen isotopes deuterium and tritium.

To ignite the fusion fire the plasma is enclosed in ring-like magnetic fields and heated to high temperatures.

Above a temperature of 100 million degrees centigrade the plasma begins to burn, there is a fusion of the hydrogen nuclei into helium, and useful energy is released.

Now that fusion research has solved the problem of stably enclosing plasma which is adequately compact and heating it to the necessary ignition temperature the interaction between the hot plasma and the surrounding walls has become one of the main research topics.

Although the hot ring of plasma inside the vacuum container is kept in a hovering position the plasma does come into contact with the surrounding walls at its periphery.

Under unfavourable conditions undesired impurities intermingle with the plasma, not only damaging the wall but also preventing the insulation of heat needed to ignite the core plasma. The IPP experiment Asdex (Axial-symmetrical Divertor Experiment) has made a decisive contribution towards overcoming this problem.

Whereas in previous experiments the tube of plasma was delimited on the outside by material filters this takes place in the Asdex system without virtually any contact between the plasma and the walls.

The entire peripheral layer of plasma

is magnetically diverted into separate side-chambers. The plasma particles, therefore, only come into contact with a material wall in a cooled state and far away from the hot plasma core. These peripheral particles can then be pumped off. This makes sure that the disruptive impurities — which also include the "fusion ash" helium in burning plasma — are removed from the plasma. At the same time the wall of the plasma container is left undamaged

and guarantees a good heat isolation of the fuel. The results of the Asdex experiment were so significant that the joint European experiment JET (Joint European Torus) in Culham (England) is currently being converted to operate in line with the divertor principle. A future reactor will also work with a divertor.

However, as a pure physics experiment Asdex achieved its success with a divertor construction which was neither directly suitable in technical terms for reactor use nor obliged to take the strain of the effects in a fully-fledged reactor plasma.

The activation of the equipment thus remains so low that — when it is not in operation — the experiment area is accessible.

The Asdex-Upgrade installation was designed after 1981 by a team of about 23 engineers and physicists.

The first industrial orders for the completion of primary components — the plasma container, the magnetic coils and their supports — were placed in 1983.

As IPP activities are integrated into the European fusion programme the investment costs of approximately DM200m were financed together with the European research authority Euratom.

Asdex-Upgrade can still do without a burning plasma and full reactor size to achieve its scientific objectives.

In order to study the interaction between the plasma and the wall under reactor-like conditions it is physically quite adequate to reproduce the peripheral layer of the plasma, i.e. the outer ten centimetres of the reactor plasma.

So as to produce a wall pressure of 30 watts per square centimetre a heating input of 12 to 15 Megawatts is planned, which has to be provided for up to seven seconds.

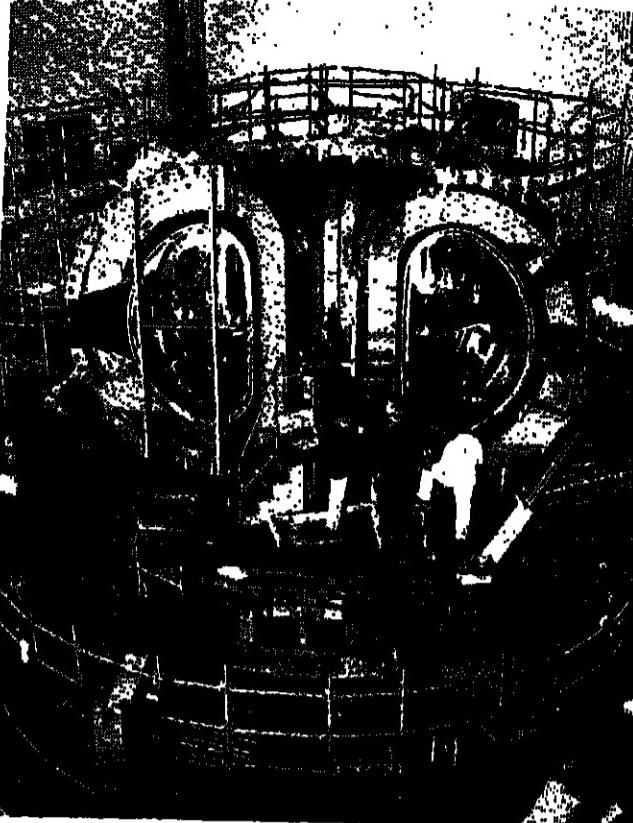
Together with the demand for a divertor which can be used in an actual reactor situation the conditions of the plasma properties are determined by the exterior dimensions of the equipment used: the research object, the ring of plasma, will have a radius of 1.70 metres and a volume of 13 cubic metres.

The encompassing magnetic fields will primarily be charged by 16 large magnetic coils, which are threaded along the ring-like plasma container.

Together with 17 addition coils for the divertor, the heating, the regulation of the shape and position of the plasma and the supports for the magnetic coils the entire experimental apparatus is thus nine metres high and weighs 700 tons.

Since each thread is also insulated with glass-fibre tape and cast in synthetic resin all stages of work have to be carried out in an absolutely clean room — unusual working conditions for mechanical engineers.

Isabella Milch
(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 9 December 1989)



Taking the con out of fusion at Garching.

(Photo: IPP)

advanced that fusion reactions already take place in the model plasma between normal hydrocarbon and deuterium.

In order to provide protection from the resultant fusion neutrons the experiment was erected in a hall with walls two metres thick and a ceiling 1.80 metres thick.

The 8,000 cubic metres of concrete can safely absorb an annual dose of 1019 neutrons.

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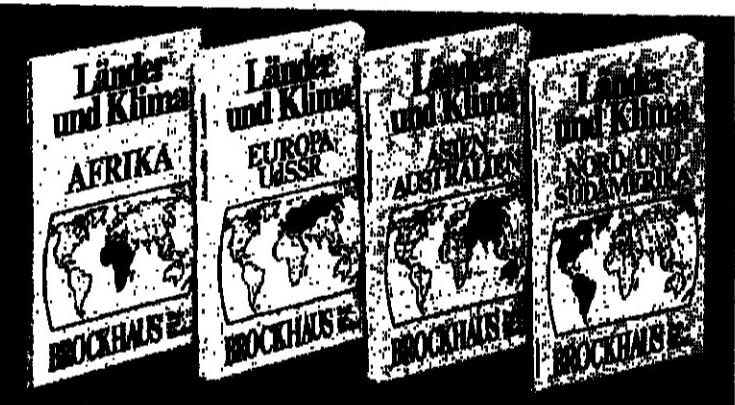
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Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

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FOOD

Question of irradiation opens up a can of wriggly, non-irradiated worms

The most frequent source of radiation for food preservation is cobalt-60; caesium-137 is also used. It is a controversial area. Rainer Müller reports for *Saarbrücker Zeitung*.

The European Community intends doing its utmost to make sure that consumers move into a "radian" food consumption future at the beginning of 1993.

Like so many aspects of its heavily criticised policy of harmonisation at all costs this project is hotly disputed.

The Community feels that previous forms of food preservation are not enough; it now wants to make food less perishable and safer by treating it with radioactive rays.

This is already common practice in some countries. The Israelis expose potatoes, onions, garlic, spices, meat and poultry to radiation. Irradiation is also permitted in South Africa, the USA and Yugoslavia.

Up to now it has not been allowed in the Federal Republic of Germany, which does not mean that radiation-treated food is not sold here. The question is whether such losses should be viewed differently or on a par with losses caused by radiation.

The splices for export markets treated in German radiation plants, for example, can easily be reimported.

Detection techniques leave a great deal to be desired. Full-proof methods of identifying goods treated by radiation speedily and definitively are expected to exist in about four to five years time.

The West German Federal Health Office (BGA), however, has developed a detection technique for splices and dried vegetables.

It is known as the thermoluminescence and, according to Dr Klaus-Werner Bögl from the BGA, it is "sure-fire."

The unusual aspect of this approach is that the detected emissions of light result from mineral impurities which can never be eliminated.

The scientists at the Federal Health Office view the problem of radiation for food rationally and scientifically.

"Several hundred publications deal with the subject of food radiation treatment," says Dr Bögl. "97 per cent see no danger, three per cent feel that it is dangerous."

Bögl by no means tries to play down the problem by pointing out that other forms of treating food are also harmful: smoking, salting (both officially recognised as causes of stomach cancer) and the use of preservatives.

"Irradiation is not without risk," say the BGA scientists, "but associated with the same risks as other forms of treatment."

Bögl underlines that this is a grey area and that "new insights could already be gained tomorrow."

He insists that potential risks must be accepted, adding that food in itself is not harmless.

Of course, not everybody takes this view.

In terms of the normal measuring range the food does not become radioactive through radiation treatment; but there is a danger that small quantities of new compounds (radiotoxins) might be created which have not so far been fully identified.

Today, a great deal can be assessed on the basis of experiments on animals. For

With regard to the Federal Republic of Germany only a limited need is felt to exist for an extension of the non-permeability of food. The situation is already well-organised and "radiation has at most economic reasons."

The BGA is also unimpressed by the critical reference to cell changes resulting from radiation.

Critics maintain that cells die which are essential to good health and that important vital substances (vitamins) are substantially reduced.

Measurements have shown that the vitamin C content is reduced by a 5 kg dose of radiation in the case of paprika from 105mg per 100 grams to 25 milligrams.

In the case of potatoes a radiation dose of only 0.1 to 1 kg leads to a 50 per cent loss of vitamin C content.

Other forms of food treatment also result in quality losses. The vitamin content is reduced, for example, by frying and cooking; when deeply frozen the cells burst.

The question is whether such losses should be viewed differently or on a par with losses caused by radiation.

The BGA is certain that most changes in the food structure are not radiation-specific, but does concede that "not all changes which take place are known yet."

On the whole, the Federal Health Office tends to be restrained in its comments on food radiation.

The hands of the housewives often come into contact with the liquid which drips off the thawing chicken. If they dress a salad at the same time the risk of transfer is there.

What is more harmless or more dangerous, salmonella poisoning or radiation? Both risks need to be quantified, and precisely this is virtually impossible.

Radiation treatment for food — yes or no? Because of the lack of scientific information a conclusive answer cannot yet be given.

The Federal Health Office agrees that there is a residual risk and advises the Federal Government only to accept radiation treatment for certain species.

The following comparison gives an indication of how this residual risk is assessed.

If he had to choose for health reasons between not eating radiation-treated food or grilled food one member of the BGA staff said he would stop grilling.

Despite the assumption of a very low risk most scientists would probably agree that a general go-ahead for radiation treatment for food should not be given until the radiobiological and toxicological questions have been convincingly clarified.

If this proves impossible before 1993 a large number of radiation-treated food products can be expected to line shelves in West German shops.

If this cannot be prevented consumers could at least expect clear labelling to allow them to choose between food which has been treated by radiation and food which has not.

One can only hope that such compulsory labelling will not already be viewed by the European Community as a barrier to trade.

Rainer Müller

something harmful in even the smallest dosage."

This is main problem facing toxicology and industrial medicine. Can even the smallest amounts of a substance cause cancer?

Or can its effect in minor dosages be neglected?

The primary question is where to draw the line between harmlessness and harmfulness.

Up to now there has been no such "threshold value." If a substance was classed as carcinogenic it retained this label no matter how low the amount.

This has become a bone of contention among experts.

Professor W.K. Lutz from the University of Zurich feels that experts frequently work on the assumption of a linear relationship, in other words that the risk increases proportionately to the dosage.

"There is no such thing as the average citizen," said Zbinden. "It's impossible to lump together men, women, children, pregnant women, smokers, non-smokers, alcoholics, diabetics or old people in one category."

The result is that damage is often discovered too late, even though it could have been foreseen on the basis of animal experiments.

An additional problem is the fact that, in the final analysis, scientific methods cannot prove that a substance is completely harmless. Not even in the case of such officially "harmless" substances such as sugar or water. Once again toxicity depends on the dosage.

"We cannot provide scientific proof of the non-existence of a risk," Professor Zbinden pointed out. "For we cannot rule out with absolute certainty that there is

Hardly any data exists in this respect in the lower-dosage areas.

Professor Hugo W. Rüdiger (Hamburg) is convinced that a decisive aspect in the assessment of carcinogenic substances is

Continued on page 16

TERRORISM

The ideologically isolated Red Army Faction appears to have rejected kidnapping

The Red Army Faction (RAF) has struck again. On the morning of 30 November they murdered Alfred Herrhausen, head of the Deutsche Bank, West Germany's largest.

The attack took place in Bad Homberg, a district just outside Frankfurt, and was yet another bloody crime in the long history of West Germany's terrorism.

The RAF terror began more than 20 years ago on 2 April 1968, when Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin set fire to a Frankfurt department store.

This act of arson was to have been a protest against the Vietnam War and was intended to mobilise the "masses" for the revolution. A little later Baader and his band declared war on capitalist society as a whole.

The driving agent for the terror was an indeterminate hatred of a system which they described as "fascist." The co-founders of the RAF committed suicide in the Stammheim Prison, Stuttgart, in 1977. Since then the third generation of terrorists are now placing bombs and committing murder.

But the victims are now different from the victims of the first RAF squads. More and more frequently leaders of West Germany's industrial and commercial life have been the victims of the RAF killer squads: Jürgen Ponto of the Dresden Bank, Hanns Martin Schleyer, president of the Employers' Association and the Confederation of German Industry, Ernst Zimmermann, a Siemens executive, Karl Heinz Beckurts of the Foreign Office and finally Alfred Herrhausen.

The RAF squad did not want to strike down Herrhausen the man, but Herrhausen the figure in public life. As no one else Herrhausen, head of the Deutsche Bank and chairman of the Daimler-Benz supervisory board, represented for the RAF the connection of "capital" to the "arms industry."

According to the abstruse self-justifications from the Red Army Faction, Herr Herrhausen was deeply involved in the merger of Daimler-Benz with MBB, the centre of the "Military-Industrial Complex," which has been the main target of all RAF attacks in the past few years.

The dilemma which faces the terrorists is obvious from a sober analysis of the present RAF "fight." The murder of Alfred Herrhausen could not cover up the differences between the hard core of the so-called "upper command," numbering about 15, and the forty or so RAF members who are in prison. These differences sparked off the whole course and point of the hunger strike of RAF prisoners early this year.

There are considerable communications and cooperation difficulties between the "commandos" outside prison and the prisoners. The last hunger strike was mounted without the support of the RAF "upper command."

To this is linked the fact that the wire-puller of the strike, Helmut Pohl, had been pushed into a position which was not acceptable to the urban guerrillas on the outside.

In a letter at the end of October Pohl wrote that the prisoners "had seized from others the initiative for themselves." It sounded like an admission of a changed situation between the "upper

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command" and the prisoners.

Pohl added that the new phase of the fight would probably take a new course, less uniform, less as a continuing process and more as individual operations than had been the case in the past.

When Pohl was committing this to paper the terrorist squad had long planned the murder of the head of the Deutsche Bank. Alfred Herrhausen's murder was committed without the approval of the RAF prisoners, an indication that the leadership still lay clearly with the "upper command."

These events show the weaknesses and differences of the present generation of RAF members in comparison with the "patriarchs" of West German terrorism.

On the one hand an operation perfectly carried out, an ignition mechanism in a light barrier; on the other hand a meagre note with the RAF emblem, without an explanation for the act, left at the scene of the crime.

The "upper command" is not prepared to argue any longer: it just kills. The letter of accusation, only delivered a few days after the bloodbath in Bad Homberg, changed nothing.

A second conclusion could be drawn from this. The present RAF is very isolated in the extreme-left wing as a whole. The attempt made a few years ago to build up an "anti-imperialist front in Western Europe," to counter this development, came to nothing.

With the arrest of the leaders of the French Action Directe (AD) on 21 February 1987 in Vitry-sous-Loges, and the suppression of the Belgian wing of Action Directe, the CCC, the RAF lost important European partners.

Perhaps all those who have participated in the fight against terrorism in the past adhere to viewpoints which are

find a partner with the Italian Red Brigade.

The approach to explain the murder attempt on Dr Tietmeyer, state secretary in the Finance Ministry, on 22 September last year in Bonn, as a joint operation between the Red Army Faction and the Red Brigade, with a view to future cooperation, came to nothing. Before this operation in Bonn the Italian authorities in Rome arrested 21 members of the Red Brigade.

This meant that in European terrorism the RAF is on its own.

But this does not alter the fact that the "upper command," the 15 or so RAF members in the underground, is still in the position to be highly "successful" tactically and from an operational point of view.

The murder of Herr Herrhausen was evidence of the perfection with which the present-day RAF murders. There were hardly any clues of any value at the scene of the murder. The crime and the getaway of the criminals was meticulously planned.

Security officials and terrorism experts know as little about the RAF in 1989 as they did about terrorists in previous years.

There are reasons for this. Officials investigating RAF terrorists are no longer "in the know" about the immediate circle of RAF terrorists, to say nothing of the tough core of the group.

Trails have led to nothing. Looking for the criminals is like looking for a needle in a haystack. The murderers of the diplomat von Braunmühl and the Siemens executive Beckurts have still not been arrested.

After new attacks such as the one against Alfred Herrhausen the same questions are constantly asked in the media by the experts, and the same helplessness prevails.

Perhaps all those who have participated in the fight against terrorism in the past adhere to viewpoints which are

No mention of any pan-European front after this killing

The note of justification, which the RAF terrorists widely distributed in Bonn after the murder of the head of the Deutsche Bank, Alfred Herrhausen, was similar to the text issued after other attacks.

The text read: "The personalities in this system must appreciate that their crimes have created for them embittered enemies and that there is no place in the world where they could be safe from guerrilla attack."

The letter said that the history of the Deutsche Bank had been involved in two bloody world wars, had exploited millions, and Alfred Herrhausen had been at the top of the centre of power in German industry.

The note said that in Europe and all over the world the Deutsche Bank had become a symbol for power and domination, "which clashed with the fundamental interests of people to live in dignity and self-determination."

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out-dated. It is assumed there is a pattern in RAF planning; every hunger strike is suspiciously regarded as the harbinger of another disaster, and the prisoners are observed for signs of an operation to be mounted outside. These are the tried and tested acts of the state and its anti-terrorist organisations.

There is just one thing that has gone unnoticed: the terrorists' fantasy and the energy of the "upper command." For a long time it has proven its swift and predictable pattern of behaviour.

The hard core of the RAF no longer clings to "overall" ideological concepts, as did the old RAF members. Their credo is pure murder, killing for killing's sake. The third generation of RAF hard core members have a killer's mentality.

The historical events being played out in Eastern Europe—the changes in the German Democratic Republic, are ignored and not discussed.

The new RAF generation does not go in for arguments of justification. This underlines the decline of the "classical" RAF.

The Federal Republic's left-wing terrorism as a guerrilla movement is dead. A meagre number of the extreme left-wing will applaud the murder of Alfred Herrhausen, a group which hates the system.

But the tactical and operative sector of the RAF is still intact. The killers can go on murdering, for the structure and criminal behaviour of the RAF has changed decisively over the past few years.

The "upper command" operates in small groups, sometimes the smallest possible. Two or three people carry out an operation. Their living style is completely inconspicuous, unknown to investigators.

The commandos live sealed off in the underground. There they develop their know-how for the next attack. The planning is characterized by professionalism, know-how and high-technology. Remote-controlled bombs are playing an ever greater role in their activities.

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